

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 PM-03 L-02 NSC-05 CIAE-00

DODE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-02 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

AID-05 OMB-01 CIEP-02 EB-07 IO-10 /081 W

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P R 070350Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 899

INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL JEC PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USIA WASHDC

CINCPAC HONOLULU

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, VS

SUBJ: FOREIGN MINISTER'S DECEMBER 7 SPEECH

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

POLAD PASS AMBASSADOR MARTIN

DEPT PASS IBS/NCA

1. FOREIGN MINISTER VUONG VAN BAC GAVE A LECTURE AT THE NATIONAL  
INSTITUTE OF ADMINISTRATION DECEMBER 7 IN WHICH HE SUMMED UP

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GVN FOREIGN POLICY AS IN TOTAL CONFORMITY WITH THE PARIS AGREEMENT

AND ORIENTED TOWARD PEACE, INDEPENDENCE AND THE REUNIFICATION OF VIETNAM. MINISTER BASED HIS LECTURE ON A CAREFULLY WRITTEN SUMMARY WHICH WAS RELEASED TO THE PRESS. TEXT OF SUMMARY FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN TEXT:

SUMMARY OF THE LECTURE ON "FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM" GIVEN AT THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ADMINISTRATION ON DECEMBER 7, 1974, BY H.E. VUONG VAN BAC, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM.

IN MY VIEW, IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD, THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM WOULD GO THROUGH THREE STAGES:

- THE STAGE OF STRUGGLE FOR THE RESTORATION OF PEACE,
- THE STAGE OF PEACE IN SOUTH VIETNAM,
- AND THE STAGE OF REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY.

1. STAGE OF STRUGGLE FOR THE RESTORATION OF PEACE.

WHEN WE SIGNED THE PARIS AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 27, 1973, WE DID NOT ENVISAGE STRUGGLE, BUT PEACE, RECONCILIATION, AND CONCORD INSTEAD. IT WAS ONLY BECAUSE THE COMMUNIST SIDE DID NOT WANT TO SERIOUSLY IMPLEMENT THAT AGREEMENT THAT WE HAVE TO STRUGGLE TO OBLIGE THEM TO OBSERVE IT, IN ORDER TO RESTORE PEACE ON THE BASIS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

IT WAS THE COMMUNISTS THEMSELVES WHO HAD ADVOCATED THE CONTINUATION OF THE STRUGGLE ON THREE FRONTS: MILITARY, POLITICAL, AND DIPLOMATIC. ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT, THEY ARE STRIVING TO:

- ISOLATE THE RVN IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND MANEUVER FOR RVN'S ALLIES AND FRIENDS TO END THEIR SUPPORT FOR RVN;
- SECURE AN INTERNATIONAL STANDING FOR THE SELF-PROCLAIMED

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"NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF SOUTH VIETNAM" (VIET CONG), SO AS TO JUSTIFY THEIR FALLACIOUS CLAIM ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF "TWO ADMINISTRATIONS" IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND, ON THE BASIS OF THIS CLAIM, CLAMOR FOR A COALITION GOVERNMENT.

THE RVN HAS MET THE COMMUNIST CHALLENGE ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT BY ACTIVELY CARRYING OUT TWO MAIN TASKS:

- STRENGTHEN ITS EXISTING RELATIONS WITH ALLIES AND FRIENDLY COUNTRIES.

- ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES.

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P R 070350Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 900

INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL JEC PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USIA WASHDC

CINCPAC HONOLULU

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

DUE TO THESE EFFORTS, THE COMMUNISTS' SCHEMES HAVE BEEN DEFEATED: NOT ONLY THE RVN HAS NOT BEEN ISOLATED, BUT IT HAS ALSO GATHERED AN INCREASING NUMBER OF FRIENDS IN THE WORLD. ON THE CONTRARY, THE SO-CALLED "NLF" HAD BEEN BARRED FROM INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND ORGANIZATIONS.

THIS HAS INDEED BEEN A STRUGGLE, NOT A NEGATIVE ONE, BUT ONE  
FOR THE RESTORATION OF PEACE, AS IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT THE  
COMMUNISTS WILL ONLY SERIOUSLY WORK FOR A GENUINE PEACE TOGETHER  
WITH US WHEN THEY REALIZE THAT THEY HAVE NO CHANCE TO DEFEAT  
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US ON THE DIPLOMATIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY FRONTS.

WE ARE NOW IN THIS STAGE. WHETHER IT WILL LAST LONG OR NOT  
DEPENDS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, BUT ALSO ON OUR OWN  
EFFORTS TO CONVINCE THE COMMUNISTS THAT THERE IS NO WAY FOR  
THEM TO ERASE RVN FROM THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE.

IN THIS STAGE, THE RVN MUST STAY CLOSE ENOUGH TO THOSE  
COUNTRIES CAPABLE OF PROVIDING IT WITH STRENGTH FOR ITS  
SELF-DEFENSE AND RECONSTRUCTION (I.E. THE WEST), WHILE  
MOVING PROGRESSIVELY TOWARD THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH CAN PROVIDE  
IT WITH A LASTING POSTURE (E.E., THE THIRD WORLD).

THE RVN IS REALISTIC ENOUGH TO REALIZE THAT ONE CANNOT GO TOO  
FAST AND JUMP TO THE SECOND STAGE, WHILE THE COMMUNISTS ARE  
STILL FIERCELY STRUGGLING TO ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE RVN.

## II - STAGE OF PEACE IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

THIS STAGE WILL BEGIN:

- WHEN THE PEACE SOLUTION, AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE PARIS  
AGREEMENT TO SETTLE THE PROBLEM OF SOUTH VIETNAM, HAS BEEN  
SERIOUSLY IMPLEMENTED.

-OR, IN THE EVENT THAT THE COMMUNISTS CONTINUE TO STUBB-  
ORNLY REFUSE TO IMPLEMENT THE PARIS AGREEMENT, WHEN THE RVN  
ENJOYS A DE FACTO PEACE, COMMUNIST OPPOSITION IN SVN BEING THEN  
NO MORE THAN THAT OF A POLITICAL FORCE, OR AT ANY RATE NO  
MORE THAN THE MILITARY THREAT NOW EXISTING IN SOME SOUTHEAST  
ASIAN COUNTRIES, SUCH AS THE PHILLIPPINES, MALAYSIA, BURMA OR  
THAILAND.

IN THIS STAGE, THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM  
WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN FULL CONFORMITY WITH ARTICLE 14 OF  
THE PARIS AGREEMENT: "SOUTH VIETNAM WILL PURSUE A FOREIGN  
POLICY OF PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE. IT WILL BE PREPARED TO  
ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR  
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT  
FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY AND ACCEPT ECONOMIC AND  
TECHNICAL AID FROM ANY COUNTRY WITH NO POLITICAL CONDITIONS  
ATTACHED."

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INFACT, EVEN IN THE PRESENT STAGE, THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE RVN HAS ALREADY BEEN IN LINE WITH THE ABOVE ARTICLE OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

OUR PRESENT FOREIGN POLICY IS ONE OF PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE. AS FOR OUR READINESS TO HAVE RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES, REGARDLESS OF THEIR POLITICAL OR SOCIAL REGIMES, THE PRESIDENT OF THE RVN, IN HIS ADDRESSES TO THE CORPS OF ATTORNEYS ON NOVEMBER 9, 1974, AND TO THE 20TH ASIAN PEOPLE ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE CONFERENCE ON NOVEMBER 21, 1974, HAD ALREADY STATED THAT THE RVN IS DESPOSED TO HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS EVEN WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, PROVIDED THAT THEY RESPECT ITS INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY. AND TERRITORIAL INTERGRITY AND DO NOT INTERFERE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HOWEVER, AS IN THIS STAGE OF STRUGGLE, COMMUNIST COUNTRIES ARE STILL INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL MATTERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM BY ACTIVELY HELPING NORTH VIETNAM IN ITS ATTEMPT TO CONQUER SVN BY FORCE, THAT POLICY OF HAVING RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES CANNOT BE FULLY IMPLEMENTED.

IN THE SECOND STAGE, THANKS TO THE EASING OF THE MILITARY THREAT AND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS ECONOMY, THE RVN WILL NOT HAVE TO RELY HEAVILY ON FOREIGN AID. ITS PLACE WILL THEN BE AMONG THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD. IN THAT CONTEXT, THE RVN WILL JOIN OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD IN ASSOCIATIONS AND ENDEAVORS AIMED AT STRENGTHENING PEACE, ERADICATING INJUSTICES, FOSTERING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE. ALSO IN THAT SPIRIT, THE RVN AND NORTH VIETNAM WILL SIMULTANEOUSLY JOIN THE UNITED NATIONS AS TWO SEPARATE MEMBERS...

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AID-05 OMB-01 CIEP-02 EB-07 IO-10 /081 W

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P R 070350Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 901  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USDEL JEC PARIS  
USLO PEKING  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
USIA WASHDC  
CINCPAC HONOLULU

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

ONE MAIN DIPLOMATIC TASK IN THIS STAGE WILL BE THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH NORTH VIETNAM BASED ON ARTICLE 15 C OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT. PERMANENT NEGOTIATIONS AND CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE CONDUCTED, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES DEVELOPED.

EVEN IN THE PRESENT STATE, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RVN HAS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS APPEALED TO THE HANOI AUTHORITIES TO CARRY OUT THE ABOVE TASK. BUT THE HANOI AUTHORITIES HAVE SO FAR DELIBERATELY IGNORED OUR APPEAL, AS THEY STILL UNCLASSIFIED

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BELIEVE IN ANNEXING SOUTH VIETNAM BY FORCE. BUT THIS SITUATION WILL CHANGE WHEN PEACE COMES, AND THE NORMALIZATION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM WILL THEN HAVE A CHANCE TO BE CARRIED OUT.

### III- STAGE OF NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

ARTICLE 15 OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT PROVIDES THAT: "THE REUNIFICATION OF VIETNAM SHALL BE CARRIED OUT STEP BY STEP THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS, ON THE BASIS OF DISCUSSIONS AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM, WITHOUT COERCION OR ANNEXATION BY EITHER PARTY, AND WITHOUT FOREIGN INTERFERENCE. THE TIME FOR REUNIFICATION WILL BE AGREED UPON BY NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM."

FROM A REALISTIC POINT OF VIEW, THE REUNIFICATION STAGE CAN ONLY BEGIN:

AFTER RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM HAVE BEEN NORMALIZED FOR A PERIOD EXTENDED ENOUGH TO CHANGE THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF HOSTILITY AND DISTRUST INTO RELATIONS OF COOPERATION AND MUTUAL CONFIDENCE.

WHEN NORTH VIETNAM PURSUES A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE AS DOES THE RVN NOW.

WHEN THERE NO LONGER EXIST IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE POLITICAL REGIME, ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND SOCIAL SETUP OF THE TWO ZONES.

ASSUMING THAT THE ABOVE CONDITIONS ARE MET THE TASK OF REUNIFICATION SHOULD NONETHELESS BE CARRIED OUT STEP BY STEP AS PROVIDED FOR IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

THE PROCESS OF REUNIFICATION MAY GO THROUGH SEVERAL STEPS SUCH AS: CUSTOMS UNION, MONETARY UNION, STANDARDIZATION OF LAWS AND REGULATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, HARMONIZATION OF ECONOMIC PROJECTS... TO FINALLY REACH POLITICAL UNION AS THE LAST STEP.

NATURALLY, THE MAIN DIPLOMATIC TASK OF THE REPUBLIC OF UNCLASSIFIED

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VIETNAM IN THIS STAGE WILL BE TO DISCUSS AND NEGOTIATE WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AUTHORITIES ABOUT THE PROCESS AND MODALITIES FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY.

CONCLUSION

THE FOREIGN POLICY CONCEPT EXPOUNDED ABOVE IS ONE WHICH IS:

IN TOTAL CONFORMITY WITH THE PARIS AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 27, 1973;

- ORIENTED TOWARD PEACE, INDEPENDENCE AND THE REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY;

-IN CONSONANCE WITH PRESENT TRENDS IN THE WORLD;

- AND IN KEEPING WITH THE LONG RANGE INTERESTS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE.

WHETHER THAT FOREIGN POLICY CAN BE FULLY IMPLEMENTED OR NOT AND HOW LONG IT WILL TAKE TO IMPLEMENT IT DEPND TO A GREAT EXTENT ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE COMMUNISTS. LET US HOPE THAT THEY WILL BE CLEARSIGHTED ENOUGH TO SEE WHERE LIE THE INTERESTS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND THAT OF THE FATHERLAND.

END TEXT  
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## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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